101 identified with the Tapirapé, than that there should have existed
174 in the Tocantins basin two different tribes with such similar
[114] names. [Ed., the last half of p. 110 and the first half of p. 111 are omitted.]

[98:111] Assuming, now, that the "Caetingas" and "Pixapés" were the seventeenth century ancestors of the Tapirapé, which is not impossible in the case of the former and probable in the case of the latter, it must be admitted that the Tapirapé reached their present habitat from the north.

●173 The hypothesis in favor of such an origin is strengthened further by the statements made to me by the Tapirapé themselves. They say that they lived formerly to the north of Conceição and closer to the Araguaia than today, but that they gradually moved farther south out of fear of the Kayapó [Cayapo] and farther west out of fear of the Karajá. They add, however, that they never lived south of the Tapirapé River, which is the southern boundary of their present territory.
619 It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the inhabitants
648 of Tampiitíua maintained continuous relations with another Tapirapé village located "ten days' march to the north," and therefore, in any case, at a considerable distance, while they had no contact whatever with their supposed neighbors to the southwest, the so-called Ampanés, who apparently are also Tupí and who are much less distant from Tampiitíua than that northern Tapirapé village. It is possible that the Ampanés
[174] and Tapirapé reached their present habitats from different directions, or that the former got there long before the Tapirapé became their neighbors.

[98:112] Kissenberth (2, 40-41, 75-78) believes it possi-
114 ble that the potsherds he found on the Morro dos Cayapós [Hill
172 of the Cayapo], located in the hinterland west of Conceição
174 do Araguaia and almost at the same latitude as this locality, are products of the Tapirapé ceramic industry (see ibid., 37, map). Stating that he is not familiar with Tapirapé pottery, the same author goes on to say ((ibid., 77): "Even a cursory comparison of these fragments with the ceramics and potsherds of South American peoples forcibly suggests the Tupí-Guaraní."
[323] Regarding this, I must say that I did not encounter among present-day Tapirapé pottery the ornamentation found on these potsherds.

1: Baldus--15 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1964-1969 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

114 174 Kissenberth (ibid., 41) states in further support of the assumption that the Tapirapé came to their present habitat from the north: "The first right-hand tributaries of some importance on the Itacaiunas River bear the legitimate Tupí names of Katuté and Tapirapé. As the Mekubenokrê-Kayapó relate, there lives at the present time, right in that virgin forest area at the headwaters of the Itacaiunas, an anthropophagous people, the Kubenôpre (meaning 'Bat Indians'), who according to their description must belong to the Tupí group." These arguments, though interesting, are rather weak at the present stage. [Ed., the remainder of p. 112, pp. 113-122, and the first half of p. 123 are omitted.]

[98:123] According to repeated statements made to me by [175] the Tapirapé, their tribe, although in the past it lived closer to the Araguaia than today, never crossed this river and never lived to the east of it. This, however, does not make me doubt the veracity of Cunha Mattos when he writes of Bananal Island (2, 392-393): "The island is inhabited by Javahés and Carajás Indians, and occasionally by Carajahys, Xambioás [Shamboia], Tapirapés, Gradaús, and other barbarians..." Since this author's Chorographia [Chorography] bears the date of 1824, it is quite possible that after several generations had elapsed the Tapirapé lost recall of those "occasional settlements."

In addition, Dr. William Lipkind, the North American ethnologist who worked on Bananal Island in 1938 and 1939, told me that he obtained the following information from the Karajá of Santa Isabel, Fontoura, and other locations: in the past there were Tapirapé living with the Javahé, that is, in the interior of Bananal Island. In setting fire once to a stretch [648] of grassland, they [the Tapirapé] burned the village of those Indians. Then the Javahé chased them away. The Tapirapé crossed the Araguaia a little to the north of Mato Verde, and thus not too far from the mouth of the Tapirapé River. This happened some 70 or 100 years ago.

After having visited the Tapirapé in Wagley's company, 114 175 Dr. Lipkind wrote to me (letter of September 10, 1939): 174 "The Tapirape themselves say that they learnt the masked dances [98:124] -- the most marked cultural similarity with

the Caraja -- from the 'Irewéhé,' who, I take it, are the Javahe, 'Ijewahe' in Caraja. Near the Javahe village of Imõnci I was shown a Tapirape cemetery. The Javahe tradition there is that they lived in the same village with the Tapirape, and I was shown the site" [cited in English].

Considering that the inhabitants of Tampiitíua bury the dead inside the house in which they lived before death, it is proper to inquire whether the Tapirapé also used this burial method when they were living with the Javahé, in which case the "cemetery" seen by Lipkind must have been the remnants of a village, or whether these representatives of the Tupí tribe proceeded in completely different fashion, performing, like the Karajá, the so-called "secondary burial," that is to say, burying the corpse in a cemetery, then exhuming the bones after the flesh had putrefied and laying them in large urns which were again buried at a common place.

Lipkind adds in the same letter: "You may be interested to know that in the innermost Javahe villages there are some distinctly Tapirape types, short stature, lighter coloring, face-cast. My camarada Antonio Pereira, who was not aware of my preoccupation with Tapirape relations, noticed it and pointed out the resemblance" [cited in English]. [Ed., the last half of p. 124 and most of p. 125 are omitted.]

[98:125] To conclude, it may be said with Cunha Marros that the Tapirapé were on Bananal Island "occasionally," that is to say, that certain groups of their tribe were there transitorily and probably over 100 years ago. The presence of "Tapirapé types" among the Javahé may also be explained by the numerous Tapirapé women "imported" by the Karajá.

In any case, the inhabitants of Tampiitíua knew nothing of ancestral migrations toward the east, such as those, for example, of the Guaraní who kept searching for the [98:126] "land without evil" (cf. Nimuendajú 1 and Métraux 1 and 3). As far as I was able to ascertain, the Tapirapé were ignorant of the existence of the sea. They did not even recall being told about it by the Whites or by the Karajá. Apparently, there was no reference to the ocean in the tribal traditions either.

The Tapirapé knew of a great river to the west, however, which they called pananá-chingehó or chinghó. It is possible

1: Baldus--17 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

823 that they may have heard this word from Whites talking about
●[173] the Xingu. As I was told in Tampiitáua, no Tapirapé had seen
that chinghó river except for one single youth "who was there
174 once, about 20 years ago." I could not obtain any further information about the life or death of this traveler. It may be that he accompanied Valadar, the Karajá famed for his exploring journeys, who visited the Tapirapé in 1911 with Alfredo de Oliveira of Ceará. The Tapirapé Kamairahó indeed told me that Valadar had taken a few of them along when he made a trip to the Xingu at that time. It may be that only one of those Tapirapé actually got to see the great river, perhaps only that single youth of which they spoke to me in the village. Be that as it may, by what I know of the cultures of the upper Xingu tribes and that of the Tapirapé, it is unquestionable that the latter did not come to their present habitat from the west.

Everything indicates, in fact, that they have lived since the eighteenth century in the hinterland of the left bank of the Tapirapé, or in other words, in the northern part of this river basin. [Ed., the last paragraph, which concludes the section in Vol. 98, is omitted.]

Chapter 3

[99:63] Contact with the Whites

175 Both Tapirapé and Karajá call the Whites torf. [Ed., the
[648] remainder of p. 63, p. 64, and most of p. 65 are omitted.]

[99:65] The contact of the Tapirapé with the Whites during the seventeenth century is neither more nor less uncertain than the identification of these Tupí Indians with the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés." We must assume, however, that White men visited the Tapirapé in their present habitat in the course of the following century. This is implied not only by the path of [99:66] the pioneers indicated by a dotted line on the eighteenth century map, but also by a reference cited by Ehrenreich (2, 88), according to which these Indians had contact with

1:Baldus--183 E-8 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

553 still young and lacked the political weight of the illustrious dead man.

One day, as I talked to Kamairabó about the "name-giving festivity" mentioned above, I complained about not having received a Tapirapé name as Reverend Kegel had and this only because my companion had the opportunity to be present at that gathering while I did not. The Indian immediately gave me his own name. Yves d'Evreux writes of the Tupinambá in Maranhão:
171 "They also have another manner of giving names, and this is when
553 they are fond of you, and show the high regard in which they hold you, by giving you their own name" [translated from French]. The exchange of names for motives of respect and friendship is a custom found among tribes in various parts of South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

It should be added that I, naturally, also gave my name to
553 Kamairabó. Such exchanges of names, at least among the Tapirapé, are to some extent merely done in jest. Thus, I was called Kamairabó only a few times and smilingly, while I never heard Reverend Kegel called by his Tapirapé name or the Indian leader by my own.

It certainly cannot be said that the Tapirapé hide their
171 name, or one of their names, as did the Tupinambá according to
551 the above-quoted observation by Vicente de Salvador. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me their names with apparent pleasure, and many of them repeated the name several times until I pronounced it properly, and asked me about it [124:143] again on subsequent occasions to see whether I had learned it correctly. They differed in this respect from the Kayapó, who do not reveal their own name according to Krause (2, 401). The latter was able to find out their names only through a third person, and they were given in a very low voice. The Karajá never made it a problem to tell me their own names. Like the Tapirapé, they are very desirous to find out about ours, and soon after the visitor's arrival they ask for his name, that of his wife, his children, and other relatives.

On the other hand, many of the inhabitants of Tampiitaua
551 were ignorant of the names of their deceased parents, and nearly
171 all were unfamiliar with those of their grandparents and other rela-
● 173 tives who were no longer alive, so we cannot assert that the Tapirapé are as interested in their own genealogy as are, for example, the Kaingang tribe of the so-called Botocudo of Santa

1:Baldus--164 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 TapirapéSP22

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551 Catarina, Xoãleng [Shokleng] or Aweikoma [Aweikoma], studied by Henry (50). [Ed., end of Vol. 124.]

[127:231] CHILDHOOD

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855 Father Fernão Cardim (310) wrote of the Tupinambá: "There is nothing parents love more than their own children, and he who does something for the children can obtain anything from the parents." Roughly, this sentence could be applied to nearly all Brazilian tribes and to the Tapirapé among them. This love is
855 manifested in the understanding with which the adults treat the children. An Indian father would never answer his child's question with: "This is grownup stuff you can't understand," thus destroying, in the fashion of certain White fathers, the trust with which the child seeks out his most learned friend. The Indian father does not speak to the child with an air of superiority, and consequently there is no chasm between them, such as frequently separates children from adults among us.

In fact, a Tapirapé will show patience toward a child even before he reaches the age of asking for explanations. I shall never forget the attitude of Vuanomanchí when a small child seated in his lap urinated on his bare legs. No fuss! This worthy family man did not even get up. He took a piece of straw from the ground and pushed down the liquid with it. He neither scrubbed nor washed himself. He uttered no word and made no motion that might disturb the child.

[127:232] Nor shall I forget the behavior of Maeyma during the illness of his little girl. Several women were weeping around the girl's hammock, and Maeyma was the only man who was crying. Seated in his hammock, he covered his face with his hands and sobbed. He seemed to have lost weight during the short period of
[262] his child's illness. As befits a mindful father, he ate nothing during
[755] this time except for a little maize cauí and manioc flour. On the following day, when the girl seemed to have improved, Maeyma, lying in the hammock held her like something breakable, and when he moved his hands he did so gingerly.

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855 In the Tapirapé tribe, as in many others, the intimate and continuous connection between child and parents is acknowledged and

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1960 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirapé live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gê-speaking Northern Kayapó and the Carajá (including the Javahé branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirapé have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirapé from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirapé aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirapé tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahé branch of the Carajá. The Tapirapé are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which are a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirapé, and the "other Tapirapé," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirapé who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirapé have visited both Carajá and Kayapó, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirapé were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirapé to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 24 (1927).

11:Wagley--1 E-6 (1939-1940) 1945 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them
[173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most
861 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival
[302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For
858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted
[302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food re-
[304] strictions, and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he
[852] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

881 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and
[221] thus of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes
[302] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads
[462] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with
[283] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become
[237] adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and
[554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed before-
[237] hand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks,
[556] cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are
[435] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1960) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupí-Guaraní*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and south of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Ceyapé* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Ceyapé*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Ceyapé*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralising effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1900, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mandacurú, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kloppel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.